DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 136 548 FL 008 026

AUTHOR Sutton, Peter
TITLE Cape Barren English. Linguistic Communications: Working Papers of the Linguistic Society of Australia, No. 13.
INSTITUTION Linguistic Society of Australia.
PUB DATE 75
NOTE 38p.; Filmed from best available copy
AVAILABLE FROM Linguistic Communications, c/o Department of Japanese, Monash University, Clayton, Victoria, Australia 3168 ($8.00 Australian per issue)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 Plus Postage. HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Creoles; *Dialects; *English; Language Research; Language Usage; *Language Variation; Phonetics; *Phonology; Pidgins; Regional Dialects; Syntax; Vocabulary
IDENTIFIERS Australia (Cape Barren Island); Australia (Tasmania)

ABSTRACT

Cape Barren English is clearly the most aberrant dialect of English spoken in Australia. Descended from English sealers, whalers and ex-convicts and their Aboriginal wives, the inhabitants of Cape Barren Island, Tasmania, have lived in relative isolation for the last 150 years or more. Their dialect is not a creolized pidgin; it has a number of lexical and phonological elements traceable to the rural dialects of southwest England, which are not found elsewhere in Australia. There are also strong traces of Aboriginal "foreign accent" at a phonological level. The specialized terminology of whaling and sealing has been adapted to the insular environment, especially in the exploitation of mutton-bird rookeries. (Author)

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INTRODUCTION

This is a brief and very incomplete study of the English spoken by the part-Aboriginal people of Cape Barren Island, Tasmania. Lack of time has forced it to be in the nature of a preliminary report only, but since no previous study of this variety of English has been made, this report should be useful as a stepping-off point for further investigation should anyone wish to make it.

An A.B.C. television documentary programme shown in 1964 first brought the existence of the Cape Barren Islanders to the writer's attention, and it included some interviews with Islanders, mainly in connection with the social problems of the Island and the sensational treatment they had occasionally received in the Tasmanian press. The writer was impressed by some phonological pecularities of the Islanders' speech, and at the beginning of 1969 made enquiries by letter to the zoologist (Dr. D. Dorward, Monash) who had made a study of the Cape Barren goose, and to the school master resident on the Island. The replies confirmed a suspicion that some sort of dialect other than Australian English was spoken by the "Cape Barreners" (as they are called by the white people of the neighbouring Flinders Island), and in May 1969 I went to

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the Island to investigate. A portable fi-Cord tape recorder and tapes were supplied by the department of English, University of Sydney, as the work was to be done as part of the fourth-year course in Early English Language and Literature.

GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF THE AREA

The Furneaux Group of islands lies off the north-eastern tip of Tasmania. There are about forty-five islands in the group, the largest being Flinders Island, approximately 513,000 acres and roughly 40 x 20 miles. It is a rural community with several thousand people, mostly engaged in sheep and cattle or mixed farming. Its main town is Whitemark on the West Coast and it has a fishing centre at Lady Barron on the southern coast. Cape Barren Island (40°25S. 146°15E), to the south of Flinders, is the second largest in the group with about 110,000 acres. Its population in 1969 was about 58 including eighteen children. These two are the only islands now inhabited, although up to about fifty years ago several of the smaller islands were able to support a family or two each. Several of the older people on Flinders Island were born on, say, Green Island or Long Island, although these are now inhabited only by sheep. Chappel Island is inhabited by a large number of venomous snakes, and also by mutton birds when they are breeding. Mutton bird rookeries are found on most of the bigger islands.

Some time between 1800 and 1810 a band of sealers and whalers set themselves up in Bass Strait with native women as consorts. Little is known of them before the 1820's, but it seems that they carried on sealing around the islands, and possibly some whaling, until these industries began to wane in the 1820's. At about this time, a piratical group, led by James Munro, had its headquarters on what is now Vansittart Island (it was then known as Gun Carriage Is.) There is a Mount Munro and Munro Bay on Cape Barren Island. Apart from occasionally raiding settlements (as well as Tasmanian Aboriginal tribes) on the north coast of Tasmania, in early times involving

murder and violence, this group, by 1832, was exporting 2½ tons of mutton bird feathers annually. This would involve the slaughter of about 112,000 young birds, a considerable task for such a group. Originally there appear to have been eight white men, nine Tasmanian Aboriginal women, four mainland Australian Aboriginal women, one Maori woman, a Negress, and an Indian woman.[1]

The men were: James Munro, Thomas Mansell, George (or James Everett, Henry (or Richard) Maynard, John Smith (née Barwood or Burwood) Thomas Tucker, James Beadon (or Beaton, née Isaacs), John Thomas.

Later additions in the 1870's were: Sam Bligh (1851), Henry Burgess, William Brown, John Summers. The original founders of what are now known as the Cape Barren Island Hybrids were a colourful group. In 1831 they were moved from Gun Carriage Island to Preservation Island because the Tasmanian Government wanted the former island as a place to settle the Tasmanian Aborigines. The Government also demanded that the de facto wives of the men be placed on Gun Carriage along with the other natives. Munro made a deal with the officials - he would round up all the natives in Tasmania if his group could be allowed to keep their women. Naturally, his side of the bargain was not kept, but the women were. Most of the founding fathers seem to have come from Britain, and to have been born between about 1700 and 1800. Thomas Mansell came from Sydney, although it is not known whether he was born there. (George Everett married a South Australian Aborigine, and later a Maori girl called Mattai.). Richard Maynard was English, and apparently fairly well-educated. He was a convict who had been transported to Van Diemen's Land. On escape he had lived with the Tasmanian Aborigines, and married the daughter of the tribal chief - a girl called Manalagana. They had a daughter

[1]Much of this material is from A.L. Meston, "The Halfcastes of the Furneaux Group", Rec. Queen Victoria Mus., Launceston, July 1947.

who later married John Smith (née Burwood or Barwood). Smith also married a Tasmanian woman, Tanganitara, but it is not clear that she was Maynard's daughter, as she seems to have a full-blood. Smith's daughter Fanny, said he was called Noota (see Moyle 1899 record). Maynard later married a Victorian Aborigine and had nine more children. James Beacon (or Beaton) was a London Jew, née Isaacs, who arrived in 1827. He married a pure-blood Tasmanian, Emerinna. He was a remittance man, and probably of the middle class. His daughter Lucy, born 1829, was literate and renowned, and became a type of leader of her people in the mid-19th century. Thomas Tucker married an Indian woman and had several children. John Thomas was a Welshman who arrived before 1810. He married a full-blood Tasmanian woman, and his great-great-grandson Mr. Ron Thomas, was postmaster on Cape Barren Island in 1969. Sam Bligh was an Irishman, but no more is known of him at present. His surname appears as a middle name of one of the islanders today (as does also the name "Burwood").[2]

By 1872 there were 84 people in what, by then, would have been the Cape Barren Island community. These included 32 adults and 52 children. In 1947 there were about 120 people, and were then said to be "dispersing". In 1969 there were only six surnames on the Island: Mansell, Everett, Maynard, Thomas, Brown and Summers. However, there are about as many Cape Barreners living elsewhere, and these include Burgess and Beaton among their names. Some live on Flinders Island, and many in Launceston (particularly Invermay) and other parts of Tasmania. Dispersal is now proceeding fairly quickly. There is no work on the Island, [and it would not be welcome, as it would intrude upon a workless tradition of one and a half centuries.]. The mutton-birding industry is seasonal only, and although quite profitable, is hard and dirty work. The school has its holidays in the birding season, so that even quite small children can take part in this traditional occupation [(see Transcripts)].

[2]The Christian-names of the present-day Islanders are of considerable interest, as many are no longer at all common, and those of the females

have an interesting phonological peculiarity. Among the males today there are: Alwyn, Brendan, Cecil, Claude (Burwood), Dalton, Darcy Dean, Deavony, Earl, Edwin, Edmund ('Edevine') (Bligh), Guy, Haydon (Boyd), Lenna, Leon, Liecester, Lyell, Morton, Phillip ('Pip') Reubin (Castle), Vance, Vivian.

Among the women and girls there are the following:
Amelia, Anita, Daphne, Clydia, Carlita, Marlene, Delia, Clarissa ('Clissie'), Lavinia, Mona, Tania, Sarah, Vanessa, Hilda, Linda

THE DIALECT

It has become traditional to say that there are no regional dialects of Australian English. One argument sometimes put forward to explain this homogeneity is that nowhere in Australia has there been a relatively immobile community with a long history of isolation to provide the conditions where a local dialect may develop. This in turn assumes that regional variants would come from a common linguistic stock, the differences which are evolved being simply a product of separation from the mainstream. But a speech community may be different from the mainstream right from the start, and then isolation could perpetuate these initial speech differences. This appears to be partly the situation with the speech of the Cape Barren Islanders.

Looking at their history we can see three main sources of cultural influence - that of their original British forebears, that of the Aboriginal women who were the wives of those forebears, and that of the Australian society of which they form a part. At the present time the latter influence is advancing rapidly to extinguish any traces of the two former factors. This situation is reflected in the speech-forms of the Cape Barreners. Traces of early nineteenth-century or dialectal British English, and traces of Aboriginal foreign accent, are clearly discernable in what I have called, for convenience, Cape Barren English (CBE).

The present state of social upheaval the community is undergoing makes it difficult to obtain clear and consistent versions of the dialect. Often a dual response may be given to a question - perhaps a traditional form followed by the "correct" standard form (e.g. one informant gave [wInbIlǝz] and then [b ɛl ǝz] for "the things you use to get the fire going".) It is also difficult to determine whether some features of the dialect are there because Australian English has made inroads over the decades, or because this dialect has simply shared those features with Australian English since earliest times.

At first hearing, CBE sounds like very Broad Australian, and this might lead us to classify it as a sub-dialect of Australian English. But it is different from most local variants in that many of its phonological pecularities are really a kind of "creolized foreign accent" derived from the non-English-speaking ancestors of the present Islanders. There are other types of "Aboriginal English" in the Northern Territory, Queensland and Western Australia[3] which have been studied, but these represent the contact of Aboriginal languages or pidgins with Australian English, whereas CBE has its origins in the contact of (mainly Tasmanian) Aboriginal languages and early 19th century British English.

Finally, before describing the features of the dialect, it should be quite clear that this description is partly a reconstruction of what could be called "Original CBE", while much that is presently spoken is "modified CBE". Where there is fluctuation between standard and non-standard forms, and there is also a reasonable hypothesis as to the origin of the non-standard form, I have taken

[3]See B. H. Jernudd, "Social Change and Aboriginal Speech Variation in Australia", Working Papers in Linguistics, No. 4, May 1969 (Univ. of Hawaii).

the latter to be "Original CBE". Education, intermarriage, terms spent working in Tasmania, and the interview situation all tend to aid in the modification of the dialect towards the standard form. It was noticeable that whenever Islanders could be observed speaking to one another their talk was often quite unintelligible to an outsider, and there were even times when their speech to me was hard or impossible to understand. The ideal situation for an investigator would be to record a conversation between two elderly Cape Barreners, and then get an "interpretation" of it later. The main obstacle to comprehension of the speech is its often extreme degrees of assimilation and elision.

1. Phonology

This is perhaps the most tentative aspect of this study, since there was so much variation between speakers, or between different utterances of the same speaker, that firm statements (especially about vowels) are impossible. Furthermore, severe restrictions on time and self-imposed restrictions on what kind of material could be elicited from informants makes the available material limited in scope. There was, because of the interviewing situation, little chance to test phonemic distinctions with adult informants, and child informants were often unreliable because of their exposure to standard English.

Short Vowels		Long Vowels	
i		i	
ɪ	ʊ	ɪü	
ə		ɜ	
ɛ		ɛ	ɔ
ʌ			
æ	ɒ	æ	ɑ

The short vowels are: i ɪ ɛ æ ə ʌ(central) ɒ ʊ
The long vowels are: i ɪ ü(front) ɛ æ ɜ ɣ ɔ

Short Vowels : example

i	individual	ɪn̩dividyəl
	telephone	tɛlifʒün
	follow	fɒli
	my	mi
I	get	git
	hill	ɪl̩
	he's	ɪz
	leg	lɪg
	again	əgɪn
	sheds	čɪdz
	bellows	wɪnbɪləz
ɛ	head	ɛ̨d
	insides	ɛn̩saidz
	match	mɛ̨č
	rinse	rɛ̨nṣ
	squeezed	sk̨wɛz
	cat	kɛt
æ	factories	fæktrɪz
	keg	kæg
	mesh	mæʃ
	paddles	pædʊz
ʌ	some	sʌm
	thumb	sʌm
	industry	índʌ̀stri
ə	they	d̨ə
	the other	d̨ʌðə
	nephew	nɛvyə
	happen	æpən
	risk	rəsk
	odd	hɒd
	Barren	bærɒn
	cushion	kɒʃən
	one	wɒn
ʊ	hoops	ʊps
	crook	krʊk
	muscle	mʌsʊ
	paddles	pædʊz

Short Vowels : Comments

/i/ The phonemic status of short /i/ is rather dubious, and seems rather to be an allophone of a single high front unrounded vowel, which is phonetically shortened in unstressed position or when followed by a fortis consonant. The fact that it does not reduce to /ə/ in the words "individual", "telephone" "television" - respectively /ɪndivɪdyəl//tɛlifʌün/ /tɛlivɪʒən/ may be explained simply as a result of these words being "imperfectly learnt" at the time of their introduction to the speech community, but the pattern seems quite clear and characteristic of the dialect. The pronunciations [swɒli] [fɒli] for "swallow" and "follow" respectively testify to the dialectal background of the founders of the Cape Barren community. J. Wright's English Dialect Grammar gives this form as characteristic of certain Scottish and South-Western dialects, including that of Berkshire. According to Dobson[4] the most likely sequence of developments behind this form is MEw > u > ə > i

It was a form apparently also found in the vulgar speech of London in the 17th century, although it seems likely that the CBE version is derived from a provincial dialect since the first English speakers of the Cape Barren community were born in the late 18th century. I pause to question a scholar like Dobson on this matter, but it seems to me his account of the sound-changes behind this form may be mistaken. He derives it from early ME 3 > w > ü , but there was a ME dialectal form "fulien" (12th century) found in the South-West - in fact, it occurs in a MS whose author lived in Hampshire, and whose scribe came from the South-West Midlands. The county immediately to the north of Hampshire is Berkshire - a region where the "folli" form

[4] E.J. Dobson, English Pronunciation 1500-1700 OUP 1957 Vol II p867

has especially survived to modern times. The 12th century occurrence is found in the "Poema Morale", where a line reads:

a muchel fulieð his wil, hinesolf he beswikeð [5]

Thus it would seem that the more likely sequence was

3ə>ɣə>iə>i . It is further of interest that Hampshire includes the ports of Southampton, Bournemouth and Portsmouth, the source of a number of the seafaring men who founded the Pitcairn Island Settlement under similar circumstances to those of the Bass Strait settlement. Pitcairnese shares certain dialectal features of this region, and has certain similarities to CBE. Unfortunately, the two words "swallow" and "follow" do not occur in Orton and Wakelin's survey of the Southern English dialects[6], and evidence for the distribution of the /foli/, /swoli/ pronunciations in modern times has to be taken from less reliable sources. Wright's English Dialect Grammar[7] shows these forms as fairly widely scattered:

follow	-	foli	-Edb., Sir, other Scots.
		voli	-Glo, Brks, I.W., W:L, Dar, Dev.
Swallow	-	swoli	Cumberland
	-	zwali	IW, Dor.
	-	zwolə	W. Som

5 line 12 of excerpt in F. Mosse, Handbook of M.E. 1952, p.136

6 H. Orton & M. Wakelin (eds) Survey of English Dialects (B), The Basic Material Vol. IV. The Southern Counties, Leeds, 1967.

7 J. Wright, The English Dialect Grammar, Oxford 1905

The dialect of an Exmoor Scolding published in 1879[8] as an example of Devonshire English contains "roily" as the infinitive form of the verb " to rail", and the Grammar of the Dialect of West Somerset published in 1877[9] states that for this dialect (in the Devon region) the regular form of intransitive verbs in the present infinitive has final "-ee". None of this evidence is very conclusive, except to indicate that a form like /foli/ is Southern and possibly South-Western.

/I/ Short /I/ is often very high in CBE, and quite close to /i/. It occurs regularly in the words "get" and "leg", and according to Orton and Wakelin (op. cit.) it is commonly found in "get" in Devon and Dorset, South Hampshire and parts of Kent (see Dialect Chart 3 for locations of counties), and in "leg", mainly in South Devon and a pocket of the SE (See Dialect Chart No. 4)

Short /I/ is also found in the word given by Morrie Brown for "bellows" - /wɪnbɪləz/ . This whole form is not found in the Southern counties, but the form /bɪ|əz/ or something close to it is found in many parts of the S-W. In The Dialect of Hartland, Devonshire published in 1891[10] the form is given as "billas". Orton and Wakelin do not show the form with /I/ as occurring in Devonshire, but give /beləs/ as the typical Devonshire pronunciation (See Dialect Chart No. 5), and the /I/ form as mainly being Cornish and Central South.

8 English Dialect Society, Series D, No. 25, 1879, Specimens of English dialects.

9 English Dialect Society, Series D, No. 19, 1877, p.49

10 R.P. Cope, The Dialect of Hartland, Devonshire, English Dialect Society, Series C - Original Glossaries 1891, p.12.

However, since we have only one case of this word in the CBE material, and the two sounds are potentially so close in this phonetic environment, no conclusion can be drawn about it except that the CBE form is probably S-W.

/ɛ/ This sound occurs in "catch" very regularly in CBE (Also two separate occurrences of [kič] - Orton has this in one Wiltshire locality.) and according to Orton and Wakelin (See Dialect Chart No. 6) it is typically South Devon and S-E. However Wright (Op cit.) also gives it as NW Dev. and W. Som. and its distribution in the S-W may be wider than Orton's results indicate. The form also occurs in Lancs, Chs, Stf, Shr, and London, so this is not a strong indicator of local dialect except in combination with other forms. Similarly the sound occurs in "rinse" in Devon according to Wright (as well as in Midl. and N.)., although Orton shows only one location in all of the South with this form (a village in Surrey). The sound also occurs in "cat", and according to Orton this is exclusively S-E (mainly Sur. and Ken.).

The occurrence of /skw ɛz/ as the equivalent of "squeezed" (in the speech of Ron Thomas) may be idiosyncratic or accidental, but it does occur twice in one passage. Nevertheless all the other people said /skwi:zd/, except for Morrie Brown who once said /skw æi zd/ or something near to it. The latter form is tantalizingly historical, but probably merely accidental. (Hartland Dialect has this particular form though.)

/æ/ This sound occurs in "keg", and the spelling form "cag" is in OED as an "obsolete" form. The word does not occur in either Wright or Orton, so I have been unable to trace its dialectal distribution. It also occurs in "mesh" but this may be a mistake.

/ə/ We noted earlier that in some cases where standard English reduces unstressed vowels to schwa, CBE does not. Conversley, CBE reduces some unstressed vowels where standard English does not.

Thus in case of "they": which regularly becomes / d̪ə / when unstressed. In the case of "risk" there may be an alternative explanation, since NZ English also has something like schwa for short /I/ here. In the case of "nephew" - /nɛvyə/ - there is no exact parallel among the dialects of S. England, since they generally have /nɛvyu/ , occasionally with the final vowel shortened. Other areas have /nɛvi/ . In the case of "hundred" - /ʌndəd/ (CBE) - the nearest parallel in Orton is in parts of Surrey and Kent, both near London, while the rest of the South has / ɜˤ:d/ . /ɒ/ This occurs in the word "one", and this is quite a common pronunciation in many parts of England. In the South it only occurs in Brks, Sur., Kent and part of E. Hants. (See Dialect Chart No. 7). Also regular in CBE is the pronunciation /bærɒn / in both "Cape Barren" and "Lady Barron". I have no idea how such a pronunciation could come about, but there would seem to be some connection with the spelling in the second case. Lady Barron is the town on Flinders Island nearest to Cape Barren Island.

/ʊ/ The only non-standard occurrence of this sound was in Ron Thomas's /ʊ ps/ for "hoops" although several times he also gave me / ü ps/. The former pronunciation may have been a slip into a more traditional form, or it may have been a slip of the tongue (connected with "oops-a-daisy"!) Other speakers always gave the expected form.

Long Vowels : examples

i:	he	i:	beak	bi:k
	me	m̪i:	cheeks	č̪i:ks
	teeth	t̪i:s	three	sri:
	tea	ti:	hiccups	ɪi:kʌps
	Queenstown	kwi:nztæ:n		

ɪ:	beard	bɪ:d
	here	ɪ:
	years	yɪ:z
	near	nɪ:

ɛ:	air	ɛ:
	where	wɛ:
	shearing	ʃɛ:rən
	clear	klɛ: (?)
	nurse	nɛ:s
	Furneaux	fɛ:nʌü
	year	yɛ:

æ:	mouth	mæ:s
	house	æ:s
	tobacco	təbæ:gə
	spank him	spæ:ŋgɪm
	band	bæ:nd
	count	kæ:nt
	carry him	kæ:rəm

3	first	f3:s
	birds	b3:dz
	working	w3:gən
	thirty	s3:di

ɑ:	March	mɑ:ʧ
	hard	ɑ:d
	parts	pɑ:ts
	car-buckle	kɑ:bʌkəl
	far	fɑ:

ɔ:	four	fɔ:
	scald them	skɔ:dəm
	all	ɔ:l
	gone	gɔ:n
	off	ɔ:f
	across	əkrɔ:s

ü	two, too	tü
	do	dü
	coop	kü:p
	roof	rü:f
	cooling	kü:lən
	used to	ü:stə
	museum	müzim

Long Vowels : Comments

Returning to the long vowels for comment, the most striking thing about the analysis I am suggesting is that it does not include the typical Australian English compound peaks as found in[11]

11 from A.I. Jones, Phonetics, a Phonological Introduction, Sydney U.P., 1968.

m.E.		CBE
iə	beer	ɪ:
ɛə	bear	ɛ:
æə	bad	æ:
ɨə	burr	ɜ:
əi	bee	i:
əu	boo	ü:
aə	bar	ɑ:
uə	endure	ü:or üwə
ɔə	bore	ɔ:
ɑə	gone	ɔ:

Nor does it include the compound peak /æu / except in marginal cases (e.g cow, bow (of boat) where it is not so much /æu/ as /æə/). But this should not be taken to imply that nuclei with these Australian glides do not occur. Often they seem to be clearly a result of linguistic influence - either that of the interview situation or that of historical development in proximity to Australian English. Some speakers seem to have adopted parts of the Australian vowel system but have retained the CBE system elsewhere. The speech of Mr Devony Brown is a good example of mixture. His versions of the words "March", "cask" are [ma:č ka:st] while he gives "last" and "half past" as [las ɑ:pɑ:s], and his brother, Mr Morrie Brown gives "heel" and "teeth" as [həil , dəiz] but "feet" as [fit]. Analysis is usually a matter of taking what appears to be the original form from examples given by all the speakers, and then combining them to form the postulated "Original CBE". All speakers who were interviewed showed this inconsistency and variation, and obviously there is a danger of taking some speaker's verbal idiosyncracy to be part of the original dialect. Furthermore, it is very likely that not all compound peaks with

schwa glides are the result of influence from AE. There are instances of long /I/ in open monosyllables where the peak is clearly compound - eg "here" [ɪə] "keg of beer" [kægəbɪə] and this may be in fact the original form. In view of the wide variations of this type, however, I have decided to interpret the phonological system of CBE as one with a dual pattern of short and long vowels, since there are a number of clear-cut cases where such a pattern obtains unambiguously.

While most of the dialect-features of CBE which distinguish it from Australian English are either in vocabulary or in the pronunciation of particular words, some of these features are basic to the phonology. Consonants will be dealt with later. Among the vowels, two of the long vowels are the clearest dialect indicators. Corresponding to R.P. /u:/ and /a:/ CBE has/ ʉ̃ / and /ɑ:/ Dialect Charts 1 and 2 show the distribution of the latter among the dialects of Southern England. It is clear that the only Southern dialect area with /ʉ̃ / is one covering all of Devon, the north-east of Cornwall and the north-west of Somerset (Chart No. 1). With one of the current Christian names on Cape Barren Island being "Devony" this may not be very surprising. The distribution of /ɑ: / is more widespread, including part of the above area, as well as the S-E counties (See Chart No. 2). Other evidence will imply that the English influences on CBE are largely from these two areas - Devon and Kent. This evidence and the conclusions drawn from it are tentative for many reasons, one being that no thorough dialect survey of the Midlands is at present available, and only evidence concerning the Northern and Southern counties has been used. Nevertheless it is felt that sufficient evidence has been collected to justify some attempt at "genealogizing" the dialect.

/i:/ The purity of this vowel is best exemplified by the speech of the children of Cape Barren Island. Among the adults it fluctuates, as usual, between the glide of Australian English and the pure vowel of R.P. In the word "hiccups" - phonetically something like [ɪi:kʌpɛ] as a rule - it seems broken into a glide in an untypical way. This particular form is found in Sur., Sus., and I.W. while the [i:kʌpɛ] form is found scattered from SW to SE. No form is found in the South corresponding to Australian English / hɪkʌpɛ /.

/ɪ/ In accord with the general rule in CBE which excludes diphthongs with centring off-glides, words like "beard" are [bɪ:d] and even sometimes [bəɪ:d]. In S. England the counties east of I.W. (excluding Sussex) have [bɪəd] (or [biəd] - Kent); while the western counties and Sus. have [bɪəʳ:d] - i.e. with lengthening and r-colouring.

CBE has /yɪ ɛ alternatively /yɛ:z/ for "years". S-E counties have [yɪəz] while S-W has [yəʳ:z].

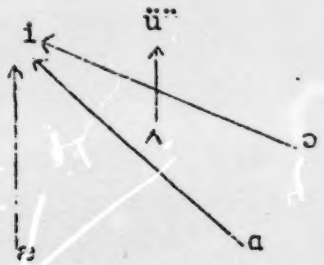
/ɛ:/ CBE has / ʃɛ:rən / for "shearing", and this is definitely a S-E form (See Dialect Chart No. 8) belonging to Kent and E. Sus. Evidence for a regular occurrence of this sound in the vicinity of /r/ where R.P. has /ɜ:/ is inconclusive - c.f. "Furneaux" /fɛ:nʌü/ "nurse" [nɛ:s].

/æ/ This is regular in CBE where R.P. has /au/, although sometimes in an open final syllable there is some movement towards a rounded off-glide. Thus "mouth" is CBE / mæ:s /. The nearest to this in Orton's Southern dialects is n Kent [mæ͡ɔ.θ] but Kent is otherwise [mɛɷθ]. The next nearest form is [mæɷθ] with concentrations in Devon and Hampshire. (See Dialect Chart No. 9).

/ɜ:/ This is generally standard, though in "working" it shows typical lengthening before a lenis medial consonant - /wɜ:gən/

/ɔ:/ In the words "gone" "off", "across", this sound is common throughout S. England and is found in much Australian English of a more old-fashioned type.

Complex Nuclei (a)



æi	they're	ðæi	ʌü	goes	gʌüz
	table	tæil		Furneaux	fɜ:nʌü
	staves	stæiv z		rows	rʌüz
	eighteenth	æidinɐ		rolled	rʌüd
				whole	ʌül
ɑi	five	fɑ^{i}v		those	ðʌüz
	night	nɑ^{i}t		Hobart	ʌübɑ:t
	tired	tɑ^{i}d			
	white	wɑit			
ɔi	oil	hɔil			
	boy	b ɔi			
	oiling	ɔilɪn			
	Trefoil	tri:fɔil			

There are no cases in the material of simple or complex vowels following each other within the word, thus:

iron	ɑ^{i}n
tired	tɑ^{i}d
ruined	rü:nd
museum	mü:zim

Complex Nuclei (a) : Comments

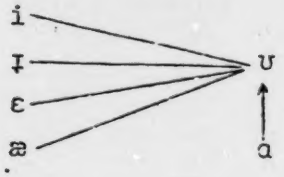
/æi/ Where standard English generally has something like /ðɛə / for "they're, CBE has /ðæi / . This might be interpreted as simply the form for "they" which has been extended in its use with all trace of the verb "to be" having been elided. How did this come about? One explanation may be that this is a legacy of "native English", but I think a more plausible explanation exists in deriving it from dialectal / ðeim /, a S-W English form (See Dialect Chart No. 10). This latter explanation is much simpler than one deriving it from "they're" or "they be" as it involves less phonetic steps.

/ɑi/This complex nucleus frequently merges with /ɑ: / as in [dɑ:lənd] "the island" or even with /ɒ / as in [nɒt] "night". Similarly / ɔi / frequently merges with / ɔ: /. /ɑi / is mainly a Kentish form in Orton, While there is a single case of /ʌ: / in S-W Devon (but Devon generally /æ:/ here - i.e. the reflex of M.E.i i-).

/ʌü This is frequently [ʌu] as in Australian English, but the fronting of/u/ is also often present (as one would expect on grounds of consistency) and this is even in one or two cases unrounded to give something close to [ʌi]; e.g. "Hobart" is [ʌibɑ:t] in Morrie Brown's speech. Before /l/ this may be retracted - eg. [aʊz] "holes" (Devony Brown), but usually not so far as in that example. More often before /l/ it is a high central sound as in [rʌuləmæ:t] "roll them out" (D.B.) But the regular form is / ʌü/, as in

rows	/rʌüz/
groceries	/grʌüsə riz/

Complex Nuclei (b)



Complex Nuclei (b) are historically from Vowel+ / ɹ / and need not detain us long.

Examples

wheel	wiʊ
silver	sɪʊvə
else	ɛʊs
child	čɑʊ

The case of / æʊ / is more complicated, since it represents the nucleus in both "fowl" and "cow" - the former case being from Vowel + / ɹ / as above, and the latter case being the allophone of long / æ / in an open monosyllable.

Consonants:

The following consonants were recorded in the available material:

p			t		k	
b		d̥	d		g	
ɸ	f	θ	s	ʃ		
β	v	ð	z	ʒ		
				č		
				ǰ		
m			n		ŋ	
w			l	r y	h	

A mere list of phones such as this is quite uninformative, but their relations with each other and their correspondence with the consonants of standard English proves quite interesting.

A phoneme-inventory will be given later.

(a) Stops

p,b,t,d,k,g (for d̪ see ð).

The pairs of stops distinguished by the complex of features we may summarize as fortis/lenisness are phonemically distinct except intervocalically, where this opposition appears to be neutralized and the lenis stop is the one usually found. This is not regular as observed in present-day CBE, but may have originally been so. (In Devon English the lenis consonants tend to be the only ones in all positions.)

Thus we have

mɔ:nɪlsʌbə	"the first meal of the day"

but

æpən	"happen"
wɑinpɑip	"throat"

Occasionally the situation is reversed and we get e.g.: [pʌtæ:s] "butt-house". Also [ɸʌdɪm] "butt him". (see below for f,v).

Where the stop is adjacent to a vowel or voiced consonant during running speech it is usually lenis, whatever it might be in isolation. The overall quality of the speech is "lenis" to use the term impressionistically, in the sense that Devon English is, partly for this reason. Even where the fortis stops survive, they are not highly aspirated.

(b) Fricatives and affricates

ɸ, β, f v, θð, s z, ʃʒ, č ǰ

The labial fricatives are fairly rare. When they occur, they generally replace labio-dentals - e.g.

ɸɜ:s	"first"
:rɪβə	"river"

Sometimes the replacement might be a stop:

s li:b "sleeve"

This is the only occurrence of final /v/ being rendered /b/, but it was quite clear and definite. In the Devonshire dialect of Hartland[12] "cleave" is given as /kli:b/and "marvels" as "marbles." It should be noted also that the Aboriginal languages of the native ancestors of the Cape Barren people would have included no fricatives (with the possible exception of a velar or uvular fricative[13]), and that much of the fluctuation observed in this section may be due to this influence.

Both /f/ and /v/ otherwise occur in the standard English way, and are less prone to lenis neutralization intervocalically than other fricatives.

Not so with /θ /, /ð /. Although /θ / occurs on rare occasions, and / ð / more regularly in intervocalic position, neither of these fricatives could be said to be original CBE. Where standard English has /θ / CBE has /s/, except when initial before / r /, where CBE has /f/, /s/or /ʃ/. Thus:

thumb	ʂʌm	(initial)
tooth	tüs	(final)
everything(pl.)	ɐvɽisɪŋks	(intervocalic)
throw	frʌü srʌü ʃrʌü	(initial before /r/).

(Note that S-W English dialects generally have /dr /, and S-E generally /θr / or /fr/.)

12 R.P. Chope, op.cit. p. 8

13 See W. Schmidt, "Tasmanien", in Meillet and Cohen, Les Languages du Monde p. 714. also R.B. Smith, The Aborigines of Victoria, Vo. II, London 1878 p. 415.

Where standard English has /ð/ CBE has /d/ or / d̪ / or /z/ (initially), /z/ or / ð / (intervocalically), and /z/ (finally). Sometimes by assimilation /d/ or /d̪/ become /n / - e.g.

/æ:t kʌmnə hɔil ən gʌri/ "Out come the oil and gurry"

Thus we have:

"the other" [d̪ʌðə] "they're" [d̪æi] "there" [zɛ:]

(The most regular version initially is / d̪ /).

"mother" [mʌðə] "breathing" [bri:zɪŋ] "with" [wɪz]

(There were insufficient examples of final / ð / to be at all sure about whether /z/ or /d̪ / is the regular form in CBE.)

/s/ and /z/ have standard distribution, except that intervocalically standard English /s/ is often CBE /z/ - e.g.

"outside" [æ:zɔ^{i}d] "glasses" [glɑ:zəz]

/ ʃ / and /ʒ / present a complicated problem, since it seems that most of the palatal fricatives, affricates and the semivowel /y/ are in free variation with each other to varying extents.

/ʃ / occurs in the standard way as in /ʃɒp / "shop", / ʃɛd / "shed" but we also find

"shins" [čɪnz] "sheds" [čɛdz]

and conversely,

"chest" [ʃɛst] "chooks" [ʃuks] "chop" [ʃɒp]

"stretching" [strɛʃon]

Although there was one occurrence of / ʒ / for / ʃ /in "shop" most occurences of /ʒ / are where standard English has / j̈ /:

"generally" [ʒɛnli] "job" [ʒɒb] "just" [ʒɛs]

"bargeboard" [bɑ:ʒbɔ:d]

/č/ and /ǰ/ occur in standard English, but with the kind of variation mentioned above. Additionally, /ǰ/ is sometimes /y/ as in

"Jeanette" [yənɛt] "engine" [hɛnyən] "dock-engine" [dɒkɪnyən]

This is possibly a "soft" version of / ʒ /. There are also one or two examples of lenis /ǰ/ for standard /č/-

"Chappell" jæbl

This effect is more likely to occur when the speaker is running out of breath and dropping his intonation levels to end a"paragraph" of conversation.

(c) Nasals

After / ŋ /, /g/ tends to disappear - e.g.

"fingernails" fɪŋənɑilz

"uncle" ʌŋl

but there are also

"bungalow" bʌŋgəlʌü

"blinking" blɛŋgən

and even

"strong enough" stɪɒŋgənʌf

(d) Glides and Liquids

/w/ - There is a tendency for /w/ to become fricativized in running speech: e.g.

"water" βɔ:də

Otherwise standard.

/l/ - This is standard, but sometimes sounds slightly retroflexed after an initial stop (as does /r/ also -

e.g. "bricks" brɪks (?) (P. Thomas)

Spectrographic evidence is unsure here, but a spike of noise which could be a retroflex tap is visible on the spectrogram, and the formant pattern is that typical of /l/rather than /r/ (See Spectrograms: - No/s 1 and 2 are from my own speech, and No/s 3 and 4

are from the speech of Phillip Thomas).

/kɒdrɪβerɔ:ˈ/ for "cod-liver oil" may represent some original weakness of the /l/ - /r/ distinction.

(e) /h/

This sound does not appear to have phonemic status in CBE, and tends to occur randomly before initial vowels. I have attempted to find whether it mainly precedes stressed syllables or not, but if this is the rule it is one with many exceptions.

Thus we get:

"hills"	ɪɪ z
"half past"	ɑ:pɑ:s
"end"	hɛnd
"Abert Everett"	hæl bət hɛvrət
"owners"	hʌüənz

Phonotactics

Substitution of /s/ for / θ / produces /sr/ in a number of syllable onsets, and this is a non-permissable sequence in standard English.

Standard English "ask" is regularly CBE /kɑ:st /, but this may not represent a prohibition of the velar stop after the alveolar fricative since "risk" /rask/ also occurs. The occurrence of / ɑ:kst/ for "ask" and /str æ ps/ for "scraps" may however indicate that /sk/ was originally a prohibited sequence. It should be noted that /aks/for "ask" is quite regular in S-W counties of England, and that /ast/ also occurs in Devon and Hampshire.

Miscellaneous Phonological Points

1. CBE regularly has /kl ɛkt/ for "collect" and the word is in much more frequent use than in, for example, Australian English, where "take", "get", "gather" etc. would receive more use. /kelɛkt/ is common in SE counties but not in S-W, where the CBE form predominates. cf /rʊ kri/ "rookery", /hɛvrət/ "Everett" etc.

2. CBE /ɪvri/ for "every" is particularly Devon and Somerset (but also to a lesser extent Surrey).

3. CBE /i:ðə / for "either" seems to be regular, and the alternative pronunciation not found.

4. Philip Thomas gave his name as [fələp ɛnri tɒməs] / - the elision of the (usually) stressed vowel in his name being a most unusual feature. though nothing further parallel to this was discovered.

5. It was noted earlier that CBE does not regularly have any centring off-glides. In the case of "there" it has / d̪ɛ / for "they're" it has / d̪æi / , and for the word "square" there is a case of /skwæiyə / .

6. CBE has all conceivable "vulgarisms" which any schoolmaster might wish to despair over. Thus final - ing is regularly /ən /, "next" is /nɛ ks/, "something" is /s̪ʌmsɪŋk / and "everything" is / ɛvrisɪŋk /; "chimney" is /ʧɪmbli/ ʧɪməli and "film" is /fɪlem /. Some words may be pronounced in a way that is "mislearnt" rather than dialectal - e.g. "si ilar" - / sɪmyə ə /, "deteriorating" - /ditɛrivæitn /, "individual" - /ɪndivɪdʊəl /. These items all came from a speaker whose nickname on the island is "Big Words."

7. CBE has / nü: / for "new" (common in S. counties of England).

8. Stress and intonation: virtually no study of this has been made, but the following are some superficial observations.
Stress: "industry" is / ˊndʌˋstrɪˇ / (+ unreduced vowel in 2nd syllable).
Standard stressing on "Whitemark" (main town of Flinders Island) is Whˊitemˋark. Morrie Brown 3 times gave Whitemark -
[rɪˇs mɔ̀: lɑˇk wɑ̀idmɑ́:kɪˇə] "It's more like W. here"
- /i:ˋ rn wɑ̀id mɑ́:k ɪˇə / "He's in W. here"
Intonation: this seems to have distinct patterns not unlike some patterns of English speech. For some good examples of this the tape of Devony Brown is about the best.

9. "What's another word of if ?"]
"He didn't care much on it." (M.B.)] should be in Section (b) below.

Phoneme Inventory: Consonants

p	t		k
b	d		g
f	s	ʃ	č
v	z	ʒ	ǰ
m	n		ŋ
w	l	r	y

I have excluded /d̂/ because I am not sure as to its actual independence in original CBE - it may be an approximation of modern times to /ď / and it frequently is indistinguishable from /d/. I also doubt whether there was any / ʃ / ~ /č/ distinction originally because of the over-crossing of their distributions in present-day CBE.

2. Syntax

1. General but irregular use of singular verb inflexions and forms for plural subjects: - e.g.

"The birds is whistling" (Fanny Smith)

"There are also Launceston people that goes away down Trefoil Island ..."

"Then, the owners of the sheds takes delivery of them from there and ships them away to markets as farther afield as New Zealand".

2. Use of "do", "come" where standard English has "did", "came".

	CBE	Standard English
Use of	"he don't"	"he doesn't"
	"we was"	"we were"
	"you was"	"you were"
	"the floods was on"	"were on"
	"they rose the rings up"	"raised the (price of the) rings up"
	"something might have went wrong"	"gone wrong"
	"we got"	"we have got"
	"it's all took down to the beach"	"taken down"
	"the gurry go to the bottom"	"goes"

3. Pronouns: regular use of "he", "him" for 3 pers. impersonal pronoun ("it" very rare) of Standard English in reference to "middle sized" objects - eg. animals, tools, etc. An activity, or some object like a land mass is usually "it" - e.g. " parts as got a bit of hard ground on it", "it pays well out of it". "them feathers", "them islands" is common.

4. Prepositions: People are usually "from off" an island or "off Flinders", "off Cape Barren" etc. e.g. "People off here works the sheds". When a bung has been driven into a cask of salted mutton birds it is said to be "up" or "up tight" - eg "With that bung up". Things done at night or during the day are done "of a night" or "of a day". One time given to me was "half past five o'night" - /ɑ:pɑ: faivənait/. This "o'" may represent "at" also.) To be working all day is to be "going the day out". To extract a drum of oil from a season of mutton-birds is "to get one drum off them". The phrase "that there" is used, as in "that there round hole". "In the round" was (once) used in the sense of "in diameter". "Till" is frequent where standard English would have "to".

5. Miscellaneous: CBE "Happen my dog seen him" - seems to be British dialectal form, in the sense of "It happened that ..." CBE very frequently has forms like "two, three days" where standard English might usually have "two or three" etc. CBE "I haven't been gone (going?) for about 18 years" - here the word "gone" may have been a slip for "going". CBE "All depends on the crow what they got, see" - use of "what" here fits in with the general pattern of broad speech. "By ordinary tongue" - a phrase used by Ron Thomas - seems a little archaic or dialectal. "In the olden days" - not such a common phrase now in Australian English but used in CBE.

"It's only a harvest" - these exact words were used by two separate Islanders on the same day in interviews. [It refers to the mutton-birding industry - possibly it is an "old jungle saying" of "The Phantom" comic variety.]

"Hello old man" - customary greeting among Cape Barreners.

"By Keest" - customary exclamation among Cape Barreners. (gained indirectly, along with the above greeting, from several independent sources on Flinders Island, complete with imitations of CBE accent etc.).

"what are you doing of?" - this is my guess as to what was (is) said by Davony Brown's wife [(see page 2 of transcript)]; when she comes out to find her husband talking to someone with a tape recorder in the nearest paddock. The phrase "What's that child doing of?" or something approximating it is found scattered around the southern dialects of England. Orton has

Cor.	2	dy:ɪn	ɔ:
	7	du:ɐn	bv
Dev.	3	dy:ɪn	ʌv
Som.	10	du:ɑn	oɔ
Ken	2	dɐin	ɔv
Wil.	4	du:ɪn	ɒn

Most of these are S-W and there is some possibility it was the form used by Mrs Brown. Further testing required, here as elsewhere.

6. Note fish plurals: "salmon", "flounders", "mullets", "blue heads".

3. General vocabulary

band "cuff" of e.g. shirt- probably contraction of "wrist-band".

barge-board given for "part of top of roof where 2 sides meet " not the conventional meaning.

barring	"except".
bast	given for "that slab of wood or stone across the bottom of the doorway" ie. threshold. "Bast" is a type of fibre matting, so the informant may have had "doormat" in mind.
bungelow	used for what Aust. Eng. would simply call "house".
chain	i.e. 66 feet. Used by D.B.: "About a chain off the beach" may be archaic now in standard English, possibly nautical, or sealing/whaling terminology.
club	used of any rough stick (sealing term?) - c.f. "wattle"(q.v.)
crowd	(abstract) term for a group of people, not necessarily numerous - as in "this crowd went down there" - the people involved may have gone individually. (Used in this sense in Australian English).
damnation	"Thats the whole [dəˑnæiʃəˑn] of "it" (R.T.) - i.e. that's the whole ruination of (the industry). Unusual use.
door stubs	i.e. the door jambs. Probably mistake for 'studs' which is standard also for "jambs".
duck feet	given for meaning of "pigeon-toed" - this may be a reversal by mistake, but Orton's Surrey No. 2 has also [dʌkfɑ̃tid] for "pigeon toed". See "walk out"(q.v.)
duskified	when it is getting dark it is "getting duskified"
ear holes	meaning of "ears" - not just the holes.
evening-time	"That was in the /hi:vnəntɑim/". (P.T.)

everywheres — c.f. "nowheres" (q.v.)

first-of-the-season — seems to be used as a temporal adjective (see its occurrence twice near end of M.B. transcript) with meaning "early in the season", as opposed to "through the season".

flicking — general for "snapping" of the fingers.

flooring-boards — i.e. floor-boards - / flɔ:nbɔ:dz /(M.B.)

fowls — chooks, chickens - general also Flinders Is. and apparently also Tasmania. Applications: fowl yard, fowl pen, fowl roost (the latter referring both to the shelter in which they roost and the bars on which they roost).

iron — (n) given for "what would you use to heat water in, on the stove?" Chmabers and Webster give this for a utensil made of iron (e.g. an iron pot)

knee-knocker — someone who walks with knees together.

knock-leg — i.e. "knock-kneed" (possibly in error)

lob — (v) "When I lobbed over" (R.T.) i.e. when I arrived [illegible], or came over.

meals — M.B. [illegible] the following as the meals of the day, in this order:

1 morning supper (first meal)
2 dinner (mid-day meal)
3 afternoon tea/afternoon supper (mid-afternoon)
4 tea (evening meal)
5 ten o'clock lunch (before retiring)

This is probably "lunch" in the dialectal sense of "a snack" between main meals, used in all the southern counties except Cornwall (Orton p.867)

morning wood (also "morning sticks"), light wood used to kindle the fire (occurs in S-E in Orton, but probably also Midl.). "brush sticks" also given for this.

neck the collar of a shirt - "collar" not used.

necklace [nɛgəl əs] - see "peas"

nowheres "nowhere".

peas "string of peas" given by M.B. as similar to "necklace" i.e. what a woman wears around her neck. One dictionary gives "small pieces of coral" as meaning for "peas", and this is probably what M.B. was referring to. Not standard English.

pendlets [pɛnələts] another word given under the above heading, meaning probably "pendants" and it may be a mistaken version of this word.

picks small pecks on the hand inflicted by struggling mutton-birds as they are taken out of the burrows.

pitch (n) part at the top of a roof where the two sides meet (M.B.) Webster gives this as obs., but Chambers gives "apex" as current meaning.

poke (vb) "poke a match to it" ie put a match to it. "poke your tongue out" (not "put" or "stick" etc.).

rang-tang "on the rang-tang" i.e. drunk and on the rampage.

setting room i.e. "sitting room" (M.B.)

short-winded i.e. short of breath

sidelocks usually "Long sidelocks", i.e. sideboards or sideburns. Not found in Orton's southern dialects, once in N.

silvery i.e. "avaricious" or "expensive" R.T. "That's a bit silvery". (reminiscent of the traditional Miller's thumb.)

skirting board — given for the apex of a roof.

splaw — to spread, said of a bird's wings, synonymous with "splay". According to Orton a Surrey and Sussex form in the S.

stirrer — trouble-maker - traditional slang on Flinders Is. known by M.B. (has had recent currency in mainland English, but evidence in Patsy A. Smith's Moonbird People suggests it is long-established as popular in Bass Strait. Often used jocularly.

stop — (vb) used in the sense of "to stay" - e.g. M.B. "The women stopped." i.e. stayed behind - found in many Brit. dialects.

sure — used in sense of "secure" - "he's made sure" (said by R.T. of barrel of birds).

throat — M.B. gave several words to describe this when I pointed to it:

1 goitre (prob. a mistake)
2 hezalad (?) [hæbeləd] (untraceable so far)
3 windpipe [wɒinpɒip] (a S-E form in Orton)

M.B. also gave "apples" as the word for the external appearance of the larynx (Adam's apple).

walk out — (vb) M.B. - to walk splay-footed (sounds as though it was made up on the spot).

wattle — R.T. describes the "spit" as "a wattle sort of a stick affair" - most likely "wattle" is here used in the S-E English dialectal sense (Sur. Ken., e. Sus.) as a general word like "stick" without reference to the type of tree it is taken from.

wind-bellows M.B. gave /ʍɪnbɪləz / for "bellows" - the form / bɪləz / can be traced to Southern English dialects, but not in combination with "wind".

4. A note on Elision and Assimilation

CBE is characterized by often extreme degrees of elision, and by extensive assimilation. Speech between Cape Barreners is far less intelligible than speech to outsiders (less intelligible that is, to the casual listener). Articles and particles etc. are often lost altogether, or leave little behind when lost partially.

e.g. [ʃfæ:nɪm] "she found him"

[ðæiɔ:ɪtʊk dæ:n ə biˇ] "they're all took down the beach"

[na: ɔ·d pɛ̃z ˜ d̥ə "no, (it) all depends on
krü wɒ d̥ə gɒt sɪ] the crew what they get, see"

[ʃəst ə ki· d̥ʌs ɔ·l yɛ:] "just a kid, that's all, yes"

[nʌ wɜ̝·gɪ frəm næ:] "there's no work here for them now"

[ɪ rɑ̃spɪɑ̃ɒnðɛ:] "(you) leave the spit on there"

Assimilation:

[ðɪʃɪ: n ɑ: ʃɪ] "this year and last year"

[ɪn nə ʃɛdz dæ: nɛ] "in the sheds down there"

[tti:] "the tea"

[d̥ʌðə] "the other"

On the latter two examples, Wright's English Dialect Grammar (p.237) notes that in those dialects of England which have both /t/ and / ð /, the former is used before consonants (t man etc.) and the other before vowels (ð / æ pl/etc). However, before a

consonant CBE more often has /d̪ə / or /d̪i /, although / d̪ / is regular before vowels. It also has /t/ - "the tea" [t ͡ti]. CBE has in one case / kæ:r əm tü yə ʃɛd/ "carry them to your shed", and here / kæ:r / may simply be "carry" with elision, but it is of interest that in the Devonshire dialect of the Exmoor Scolding (op.cit) this is the regular form, which the editor writes "phonetically" as "kaar" and says (p. 36) that "the y is always dropped."

5. A NOTE ON FLINDERS ISLAND SPEECH

Flinders Island has been settled since about 1830, and it is possible that its relative isolation in the past may have led to its remaining dialectally distinct in some ways from the mainstream of Australian English. About two hours of tape was made with a farmer who had been born on Flinders, and who was able to answer a great many questions on the Orton and Dieth questionnaire. His responses were more interesting lexically than phonologically, but the speech of his nephew (Mr Leedham Walker, Whitemark Garage) shows extreme degrees of assimilation and elision on the par with much of that of CBE. The farmer mentioned (Mr Geoff Walker) has had experience of sheep, cattle, wheat, pigs, chooks, ducks, horses, wagons, drays etc. and gave many responses which differed from what Orton and Dieth list as the forms of standard English. He gave / ʃəiə / for the "share" of a mould-board plough, / ʃa:vz / for the plural of shaft, / frʌilz / for threshing-flails, /trpvz / for the plural of trough, and /həikʌps / for hiccups. He gave "winkers" for horse blinkers, and "crush" or "race" for a fenced ramp for loading livestock onto trucks. He also noted that that part of a cart which he called a "swingle tree" was called a "whipple tree" in the wheat country of W.A. Many other details of farming vocabulary were no doubt standard Australian English, but the Australian standard is apparently different from

the British, and this could bear studying.

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